



I WALK THEREFORE I SHOOT:
A RECORD OF HONG KONG
DEMONSTRATIONS

我行我攝—— 香港遊行紀錄

七一遊行

JULY 1ST PARADE

2005年反世貿遊行衝突

ANTI-WTO PROTEST 2005

保衛中環舊天星碼頭

皇后碼頭

OLD CENTRAL STAR FERRY PIER

AND QUEEN'S PIER

樂善村抗爭

CHOI YUEN VILLAGE

RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

政改方案——

八包圍立法會

朱迅

BIRDY CHU

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出版及發行
Publishing &
Distribution

KUBRICK

香港九龍油麻地眾坊街駿發花園 H2 地鋪
Shop h2, Prosperous Garden, 3 Public Square Street,
Yau Ma Tei, Hong Kong
電話 Tel: (852) 27404488 / 2384 8929
網址 Web: www.kubrick.com.hk
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資料搜集
Research

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校對及翻譯
Proofreading &
Translation

Yvonne Tsan

出版日期
Publication Date

2013 年 5 月初版一刷
2013 May, First Edition

定價
Price

HKD169

國際書號
ISBN

978-988-15506-0-6

Printed in Hong Kong
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目錄
CONTENTS

- :004 序
香港: 示威之都
何慶基
FOREWORD
HONG KONG:
A CITY OF DEMONSTRATIONS
Ho Hing Kay Oscar
- :008 序
「五有」攝影師
蘇鑰機
FOREWORD
PHOTOGRAPHER OF
'FIVE HAVE':
AN INTRODUCTION
So York Kee Clement
- :013 六四維園燭光晚會
JUNE 4TH CANDLELIGHT VIGILS
AT VICTORIA PARK
- :035 七一遊行
JULY 1ST RALLY
- :059 2005年反世貿遊行衝突
ANTI WTO PROTEST 2005
- :085 保衛中環舊天星碼頭、皇后碼頭
OLD CENTRAL STAR FERRY
PIER AND QUEEN' S PIER
PRESERVATION MOVEMENT
- :111 菜園村抗爭
CHOI YUEN VILLAGE
RESISTANCE MOVEMENT
- :135 反對政改方案 —
「623包圍立法會」
623 SURROUND LEGCO—
NO TO CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM
- :153 聲援艾未未
SUPPORT AI WEI WEI
- :171 反核
ANTI-NUKE
- :189 反雙非嬰居港遊行
NO MORE RIGHTS OF ABODE
TO DOUBLE ILLEGITIMATE
INFANTS PROTEST
- :205 聲討屠夫政權、萬人遊行尋真相
CONDEMN BUTCHER REGIME,
THOUSANDS MARCH TO FIND
THE TRUTH
- :227 抗爭的藝術：一次有關攝影、
藝術與社運關係的對談
THE ART OF DEMONSTRATION:
A CONVERSATION ABOUT THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
PHOTOGRAPHY, ART AND
SOCIAL MOVEMENT
- :237 後感
AFTERWORD

序 香港：示威之都

何慶基

2012年 *Lonely Planet* 認為香港是全球十大必需探訪的城市，其中一個原因，是我們有令人側目的示威文化。香港的示威文化，有強烈獨特的本土文化特色，而這文化特色，與本地的政治、社會、歷史和文化緊扣。

香港有相對的自由而無民主這畸形政治生態，滋生爭鬥激烈的對抗文化。由於政治機制沒有適當渠道讓公眾參與、影響政府的決定，最後只有訴諸街頭示威。加上香港人口密集，資訊流通迅速，組織示威遊行異常方便，遂令香港成示威之都。

在曾蔭權領導下，言論和示威自由漸被打壓，但相對國內而言，香港仍有較大的表述空間。香港社會的多元開放，充份從示威的數量及紛紜的議題中反映出來，由艾未未到反核、反雙非到反替補機制等等，林林種種，已成為我們生活的一部份。

89年天安門學生運動引發的民眾示威行動，為二十一世紀的香港示威文化，作頗沉重的序幕。當時的示威形式，都是以標語口號為主，即使是慣於搞創意形象的藝術界，突然間要利用形象去述說政治議題，也顯得有點手足無措。89年後，示威行動開始逐步成熟成形，示威者明白示威要吸引傳媒注意以表達訊息，形象鮮明的符號、裝飾以至儀式性的行動是必要的。2005年韓農反世貿示威，更令本地示威民眾對示威文化及策略大開眼界。2006年底的捍衛天星之戰，其一活躍團隊是理工大學的設計系老師和學生，他們成功製造一系列的示威裝置和藝術行動。當示威發展至菜園村，其表達形式已達登峰造極，示威者深明製造攝影影像作宣傳的重要性，例如菜園村示威者集體拿蕉葉供傳媒拍大合照，便是典型的利用攝影作為示威工具，至於那影像鮮明感人的跪叩行動，年長的年幼的，排成長列跪叩，在報刊登出來的照片，不知贏盡了多少香港人的心。這些影像均為攝影者提供極佳的拍攝對象。

香港的示威也有它溫馨歡愉的一面。香港的示威遊行，除了六四相關的活動外，其實不少示威有嘉年華巡遊的感覺，一家大小星期天難得可在軒尼斯道路中間慢步，同行的人雖不認識，但因為有共同訴求，倍覺親和。這類示威活動，夾雜著種種不同的示威表述形式，百花齊放、古靈精怪，當中不乏典型港式嬉笑怒罵的藝術製作或儀式行動，為這種傳統上深具抗爭性的示威行動，加入了人性、創意的一面。

朱迅選擇以示威作為攝影題材，著實是抓住了一個重要的香港文化現象。曾任攝影記者的他，對走上街頭攝錄街頭景象，自然得心應手，成功捕捉港式示威文化的繽紛、幽默，也有激情與沉鬱，有卡通政客富豪的造像、有警民對壘的張力，也有集體跪叩的沉重，盡展香港示威者和示威文化的創意、堅韌和動力。有浩蕩的萬人聚集場面，也有親密的示威小片段，朱迅透過攝影，盡顯香港的示威文化特色，羅列香港自回歸後的憤怒、期盼、創意和幽默。在另一層面，他把連串的示威影像結聚，由七一、捍衛天星、艾未未，到菜園村及至反雙非，把回歸後一些具爭議的社會、政治議題集結，是一個回歸後香港政治、社會歷史的濃縮版。

FOREWORD
HONG KONG:
A CITY OF DEMONSTRATIONS

Ho Hing Kay, Oscar

In 2012, *Lonely Planet* stated Hong Kong as one of the top 10 cities to visit, one of the reasons is the eye-opening protest culture we have here. Hong Kong has a uniquely strong sense of local culture in our protest culture. This cultural characteristic intertwined with local politics, society, history and culture.

The political ecosystem in Hong Kong is relatively free but without democracy. It breeds the resistance culture of unrelenting dispute. As our political mechanism do not have a proper channel to affect the government decisions and let the public participate, we can only take it out on streets. Besides, the dense population in Hong Kong and instant flow of information means organizing protest is extremely easy. Thus, Hong Kong becomes a city of demonstrations. Under the leadership of Donald Tsang, the freedom of speech and demonstration has been gradually smothered. However, when compared to mainland, there is still room to speak. Hong Kong society is versatile and open; it shows from the number of protests and the diverse issues—from Ai Wei Wai to anti nukes, from double illegitimate pregnant women to anti replacement arrangement. All these, has become part of our lives.

The civilian protest movement in 1989 triggered by student movement at Tiananmen Square was kind of somber opening to Hong Kong protest culture in twenty-first century. Shouting slogans were mainly the tactics to protest at that time. Even for the art world which was good at creating images, it was seemingly disoriented to use images all of a sudden into interpreting political issues. After 1989, protest movement gradually matured in form. The protesters understood that to get the attention from the media, it is essential to work on flashing symbols, apparel and the ceremonial actions. The protest culture and tactics in Anti-WTO rally that employed by Korean farmers were eye opening for local protesting citizens. The students and teachers at School of Design in

Polytechnic University of Hong Kong were active members to the tussle in preserving Star Ferry Pier in the end of 2006; they triumphed in producing a series of protest installation and art movement. When the protest expanded to Choi Yuen Village, the form of protest is at its peak of perfection. They understood the importance of operating photography as a way of publicity, for example, the group photo of Choi Yuen Village protesters holding banana leaves in front of media is a classic example by applying photography as a tool to protest. The intense images of kneeling and bowing by the old and the young who formed into a long line captured the heart of Hong Kong people when that were posted on newspapers. These images provided the best photographing targets for the photographers.

The protest in Hong Kong has its happy and tender moment too. Apart from June 4th events, many of them contain the feeling of carnival parades. It is seldom to come by for the whole families to take a stroll on Hennessy Road on Sundays, you might not be familiar with the people along the way, but it is the common concern that brings us closer. In such protests, all forms of expression blossom. They are eccentric; some of them are art productions and ritualized actions dipped in typical Hong Kong cynical satire. All these add a more humane and creative side into the protest movement that has deep defying tradition.

Birdy Chu chooses protest as his subject for shooting. He definitely grabs an important Hong Kong culture phenomenon. To picture the street scenes is right up his alley as he had been a photojournalist. He completely captures the splendor, humor, passion and gloom in Hong Kong protest culture. There are images of cartoon politicians and rich people, the tensions between police and the protesters, the somber of people kneeling and bowing together. They all show creativeness, perseverance and motivation of the protesters and the protest culture in Hong Kong. The majestic scene where thousands

gathered, the segment where intimacy happened during protest, they are all pictured by Birdy. The pictures collect the anger, desire, imagination and humor of Hong Kong after the handover and they present the characteristics of the protest culture. He also assorts different protest images, from July 1st rally, preservation of Star Ferry Pier, support Ai Wei Wei to Choi Yuen Village and anti double illegitimate. He pinpoints the social and political issues that are in dispute after the handover. This book is also extract Hong Kong political and social history after the handover.

序 「五有」攝影師

蘇鑰機

香港中文大學新聞與傳播學院教授

認識朱迅，差不多在十多年前，當時他在溫哥華《明報》當攝影記者，我就負責文字編輯工作。

我是文字人，對圖片又敬又愛但不懂。只知道「一張相片勝過千言萬語」，它能反映現實，傳遞情意，也能挑動情緒，扭曲真相。

朱迅是個有「視感」的人，透過鏡頭看世界，用圖片評述小事大義。他出版的《我行我攝》用相機看香港，以圖片說本地人的故事、心聲、訴求。書名真好，從「我」的角度，邊行邊攝，無拘無束，但有心有感，有景有情。

稱香港為「遊行之都」，有遊行表示此地仍有自由表達的權利，是民意的最實在反映。遊行也可理解為社會受激化，大家看到不公義而起動發聲。

我改動一下李安導演的說法：「每個人心中都有個遊行結」。無論是七一還是六四，地點是維園還是政治總部，是回歸前還是回歸後，是政治民生還是理念保育，香港人都有思有感，相片捕捉到的圖像可供欣賞、閱讀、品嚐、收藏。它既有社會性，又有藝術性，是集體回憶也現個人風采。

朱迅的攝影集是長期累積下來的成果，但主題集中，意念鮮明，角度清新。認識他多年，我覺得朱迅是個「五有」攝影師：

有心：心不在焉的人不會出成果，真心實意是有成就的必需條件。

有眼：眼睛大家都有，眼界和眼力卻各有不同。

有力：力是能力和技術的體現，用專業圖像表達並非人人可以。

有品：品味是好東西的特質標記，圖片也不例外。

有恆：恆常堅持了那麼多個年頭，慢工出來的細貨令人期待。

「五有」之士交出力作，「吾」等香港人一定要擁「有」，才能「悟」出香港之「有」情、遊行之「有」義。

FOREWORD PHOTOGRAPHER OF 'FIVE HAVE': AN INTRODUCTION

So York Kee, Clement
Professor of the School of Journalism and
Communication, CUHK

I have known Birdy for some ten years ago. He was the photojournalist at Ming Pao Vancouver and I was in editing.

I am a man of letters, I love and respect images but have no idea about them. I only know that one picture is more than thousand words, it can reflect reality, convey love, or it can twist the truth and provoke emotions.

Birdy Chu is a man with sense of sight. He sees the world through lenses and comments on small issues and major incidents through images. He sees Hong Kong through camera in his book *I Walk Therefore I Shoot*, using images to read stories, voices and demands of local people. The title is very good, uses 'I' as an angle, to walk along and take shots. It seems unbound, with heart and soul, with sight and feeling.

Hong Kong is called 'City of demonstrations'. We still have our rights to express freely because there are still protests. They are the true reflection on public opinion. Protest can also mean a society intensifies; people speak up when they see injustice.

Let me rephrase the line of director Ang Lee, 'I think everyone has a protest knot in their heart.' Hong Kong people has always been spirited, no matter it is on July 1st or June 4th, at Victoria Park or Government Secretariat, before handover or after it, or in front of political social issues or preserving our values. The images that captured by the photos can be admired, read, tasted and collected. They bear social and artistic character, they are both collective recollection and personal charm.

This photo collection is the achievement that Birdy built up for years. It has a focused theme, a clear idea and refreshing angle. I have known him for years, and I found Birdy is a photographer of 'Five Have';

Has heart: people with absent-minded will not achieve, only the true-hearted can succeed.

Has eyes: everyone has eyes, but bears different sights and views.

Has capability: capability is the proof of ability and techniques, not everyone can express in professional images.

Has taste: taste is a trademark of good things, including pictures.

Has perseverance: insists for all these years, everyone is looking forward to the fine products that come out.

The outcome released by man of 'Five Have' is work that all Hong Kong people should have, so we can understand the heart of Hong Kong people and the spirit of the protest.

JUNE 4TH CANDLELIGHT VIGILS AT VICTORIA PARK

六四維園 燭光晚會

時間：自1989年起，每年的6月4日

地點：維多利亞公園

發起組織：香港市民支援愛國民主運動聯合會

主要訴求：要求中共釋放民運人士、平反八九民運、
追究屠城責任、結束一黨專政、建設民主中國

主辦方公佈參與人數：--

警方公佈參與人數：--

Date : Every 4th of June from 1989

Place : Victoria Park

Initiator : Hong Kong Alliance in Support of
Patriotic Democratic Movement of China

Main Concerns : demands the Chinese government
to release the dissidents, rehabilitate the
1989 pro-democracy movement, demands the
accountability of June 4th massacre, end one-
party dictatorship and build a democratic China

Total number of participants announced

by Hong Kong Alliance : --

Number of participants announced

by Hong Kong Police : --

事件背景

1989年4月，學生自發到天安門廣場悼念中共領導人胡耀邦。運動其後發展為以要求中共民主化、反對貪腐「官倒」為目標。全國各地學生及工人紛紛響應，逼使中共將運動定性為動亂。但學生拒絕在政府答應要求前撤出，並展開絕食。6月3日晚，政府頒佈戒嚴令，派出坦克及軍隊進入廣場驅逐學生。廣場內學生，及在附近聲援的居民均遭射殺，舉世嘩然。

在香港，5月21日200萬市民上街聲援學運，並成立香港市民支援愛國民主運動聯合會。此後，每年支聯會均會在維園舉辦燭光晚會，數以萬計市民一起呼喊口號，唱著〈自由花〉、〈血染的風采〉等歌曲，點起燭光悼念罹難者。

多年來，除悼念以外，出席晚會人數亦和本地及內地政治關係密切。2004年，「六四」十五周年，人大否決07、08年「雙普選」，集會人數較往年倍增。2009年，二十周年，時任特首曾蔭權於答問大會上回應有關六四事件編入歷史課程時惹起爭議，指明白港人對六四的感受，惟事件發生以來國家發展成績驕人，相信港人應對清場決定有更客觀的評價，更指自己的想法能代表整體港人的意見。此番言論惹來民眾反感，部份人更特意參與集會，表示「曾蔭權不代表我」，集會人數自1990年以來再次達到15萬。往後數年，因維權人士劉曉波被捕、內地茉莉花革命被鎮壓，集會人數一直維持在15萬在右。至2012年更創新高，民眾坐滿維園球場、草地，警方更一度封閉告士打道一條行車線予公眾集會。

2010年，時任支聯會主席司徒華先生最後一次出席晚會，看到大量年輕的參加者，有感其畢生致力對全國各地因六四而受逼害的異見人士的救助有新一代接棒，中國的民主運動的推展得以薪火相傳，感言「成功不必在我，功成必有我在」，更勉勵年輕人「平反六四，堅持到底」。

事態發展

六四至今尚未平反，仍有大批當年在各地參與及聲援的平民遭關押。死難者家屬被嚴密監視，不能公開悼念。回歸後，港府多次未有正當理由下拒絕前學運領袖及其他境外社運人士入境參與晚會。

Background

In April 1989, students gathered voluntarily at Tiananmen Square to mourn for the death of Communist leader Hu Yaobang. This later became a call for communist party liberalization and a stop to the party corruption. Students and workers all over China assembled and the movement soon became a riot defined by Communist government. Students refused to dismiss before the government agreed on the terms and they started on hunger strike. At the night of June 3rd, the government declared martial law, tanks and army troops were marched into the Square to evacuate students. Students inside the Square and civilians living nearby who supported the movement were shot. The whole world stunted.

On 21st May, 2 million Hong Kong citizens turned up to support the student movement. Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement of China was being established. And from then on every year, Candlelight vigils are being conducted at Victoria Park by Hong Kong Alliance. Tens of thousands of citizens gathered together shouting out the slogans, singing songs like *Flowers of Freedom* and *Spirit of Tainted Blood* and holding candlelight to mourn for the victims.

All these years, apart from the mourning, the number of participants in candlelight vigils was tightly connected with local and mainland political situation. In 2004, the 15th Anniversary of June 4th, LOCPG denied universal suffrage in 2007 and 2008 for Chief Executive and Legislative Council, the number of participants were escalated compared to last year. In 2009, the 20th Anniversary of June 4th, Donald Tsang, then Chief Executive commented on June 4th Incident, he stated that Hong Kong people should have a more balanced judgment about the Tiananmen Square clearing as China is prospering. He believed his stance represented all Hong Kong people. This speech revolted the public and some of them actually

joined the vigil to stay clear that 'Donald Tsang does not represent me'. The number of participants reached 150,000 again since 1990. The number of participants kept on around 150,000 for the years followed due to the arrest of human rights activist Liu Xiao Bo and the suppression of Molihua Revolution. In 2012, the number of participants has reached a new record. The lawn and football pitch of Victoria Park were packed with people, and one lane of Gloucester Road needed to be closed for public gatherings.

In 2010, the chairman of Hong Kong Alliance Szeto Wah attended his last vigil, and was impressed by a large number of young people attending; he realized that a new generation has risen to liberate the dissidents of June 4th from all over China. The flame of democratic movement in China is passing down. He said, 'I don't have to succeed, but I will be a part of it when we achieved', and he also encouraged young people 'Indicate June 4, Persist to the end'.